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Moravian Historical Society

VOLUME XVII

Part II

Whitefield House
Nazareth, Pa.
1960

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Philip Henry Gapp and the Philadelphia German Home Mission, 1850-1864

by

SAMUEL V. GAPP

Philip Henry Gapp was the oldest of the four children of Philip Ludwig Gapp and his wife Katherina Elizabeth, maiden name Ott. He was born in Langenschwalbach, a town in Hesse-Nassau not far from Wiesbaden, sometimes now called "Bad Schwalbach", on February 13, 1820. Of his early life nothing is known. In those times the average boy would leave school at fourteen and become an apprentice for three years. Such an apprentice would then spend a year or more as a wandering journey man, and plan after that to get married, settle down, and start a shop of his own. P. H. Gapp presumably learned his trade, that of a shoemaker, in that manner but he never completed the latter part of the program; he was drafted into the army of Hesse-Nassau. "He entered the ducal military service on April 2, 1840, under No. 29,198 as conscript of the year 1840, lot No. 22, and has behaved well during his term of service".[1] So his discharge papers read and they further state that he served one year, one month as a private, four months as a volunteer after the end of the legal term of his service, and five years, eight months, twenty four days as a corporal. The discharge papers omit any reference to campaigns or military actions, although there is a space provided for it, and one might almost conclude that he spent the entire seven years doing garrison duty in or near Wiesbaden. Why he remained in the army so long of his own free will is uncertain, but there are at least two possibilities. Any army veteran of a certain numbers of years of service had a prescriptive right to a civil service job and he may have had that in mind. It was also possible, in time of peace for a soldier who had some trade to practice that trade in the army, doing some private work on the side and preparing to set up his own shop after his discharge.

Some time during his army career P. H. Gapp came under the influence of the Diaspora work of the Moravian Church in Germany, if indeed his family had not had a connection with that work years before his time. In his Mss. "History of the German Home Mission in Philadelphia" he says that he began with "my own friends from the old fatherland where we were all connected with the Diaspora and were visited by Brother Baudert from Neuwied in Wiesbaden and other neighbouring towns"[2]. This was the grandfather of the present Bishop Samuel Baudert. The evidence for an earlier connection of the family with the church is uncertain; it rests on a series of greetings which P.H. Gapp brought with him to America. They are signed and dated and contain the usual Scripture verse and stanza of a hymn, but do not indicate the recipient in any way. One, for example, is dated at Neuwied, a Moravian town, on September 18, 1823. Others are dated at Elberfeld, a town in which the Diaspora was active, in the years 1822, 1823, 1827 and 1828. The most important of these Elberfeld greetings concludes: "Mit diesem Denkmal der Freundschaft grüsst dich zum frohen Abschied zur lieben Brüdergemeine dein allgeringste Mitbruder, Joh. Fried. Wetschky. October 11, 1822." But who was it who joined the Moravian Church in 1822? Then there are a series of greetings from a place called Oftersheim, which Baudert did in fact visit some years later, in 1852,[3] dated in the years 1841 and 1842, when P.H. Gapp was in the army, and several greetings from Wiesbaden in the years 1843 and 1846, which probably were addressed to P.H. Gapp himself from members of a Diaspora group.

However that may be, and whatever his own prospects may have been of getting into civil service or of setting up his own business, perhaps with the aid of his friends in the Diaspora, P. H. Gapp decided to migrate to America early in 1847. Family tradition states that his father opposed this plan and that the carrying out of the plan led to a break between himself and his father. We do not know whether he was dissatisfied with his personal future prospects, whether he was unhappy in the army after seven years or service, or whether, like many other Germans of the revolutionary year of 1848, he was dissatisfied with political

conditions. It does not appear that he came to America with the idea of entering the Home Mission Work of the church here.

He accordingly got his discharge from the army on June 1, 1847, obtained passport to leave the country on June 15, 1847, and left Wiesbaden on June 26. He traveled via Rotterdam, where his passport was stamped on June 30, 1847, and next appears, as the receipt for his steamship fare shows, when he sailed from London on October 11, 1847. His passage on the *Sir Robert Peel* cost him four pounds and he travelled steerage. What he was doing in the three months between his arrival in Rotterdam and his leaving London is unknown. One might speculate that he had been earning his living either in Rotterdam or in London as a shoemaker, while he waited for a steamship. We cannot tell whether he came in touch with the Dutch or the British Moravian Church.

The journey to America, back in the middle of the 1800s, took several weeks, and it is improbable that he arrived in New York much before the end of October. The Record of Ministers in the office of the Provincial Elders' Conference states that he "at first was engaged as a missionary in New York by the American Tract Society",[4] but this must rest on a misunderstanding of some sort. He cannot have been in New York for more than two months. Under the date of December 27, 1847, the Financial Account Book of the Philadelphia church reads: "1 German Text Book. (Br. Gapp. 20".[5] Why he came to Philadelphia so soon after his arrival in New York we cannot tell. What he was doing in Philadelphia is fairly obvious; he was earning his living as a shoemaker and he continued to do that for at least two and a half years after this purchase of a textbook, his first recorded appearance in the American Moravian Church. It is worth noting that he was described, in December, 1847, as "Brother Gapp". This seems to indicate that he was already a member of the church; at all events, the expression "Brother" would not be applied to a non-Moravian who bought a textbook when, later on, he is described as "a German member of the English congregation", one can only wonder how long he had been a member and when he had joined. The indications are that he joined the Philadelphia church very soon after his arrival in America.

Some light may be shed on this matter by considering the house in which he lived in Philadelphia. This first appears in 1854: "Our missionary, the Rev. P. H. Gapp, resides at No. 56 St. John's Street, above Callowhill".[6] In 1858 the address appears as "404 St. John's Street, above Callowhill".[7] This, of course is merely a change in the numbering. Callowhill is four blacks north of Market Street and the numbers 400 north, therefore, now begin at Callowhill. The 56 designates the same house in an older system of numbering. In this house he lived for many years; the last appearance of that address is on January 21, 1865, at a time when he speaks of the possibility of leaving the city. No other address for him in Philadelphia has ever been found, and it is at least probable that, if he lived there from 1854 to the beginning of 1865, he had been living there from the very first, even from 1847. St. John's Street is now known as American Street, and this address is therefore four blocks in a straight line from the old Moravian Church on Race Street, at Bread, which stood until 1854 on the site of the church of colonial days. We know that he bought a textbook in that church in December, 1847, and it is possible that he chose that boarding place because of its nearness to the church. Somewhere in that neighbourhood, too, (perhaps in the very house on St. John's Street) was his shoemaker shop. In this house on St. John's Street, at any rate, services in the manner of the German Diaspora were held in the early 1850s. (Was the owner a Moravian or friendly to Moravians?) The house has long since disappeared, and American and Callowhill Streets now meet in the barren middle of the warehouse district.

When P. H. Gapp was earning his living as a shoemaker in this section of Philadelphia in late 1847 and 1848, things were happening in the American Moravian Church and especially in the Bethlehem church which were to be of great importance for the future of that Church, and of no small consequence to the shoemaker from Schwalbach. The American Synod of 1847 had been impressed by calls for Home Mission work from the West where Germans were already settling. Among these settlers were many people who had some connection with the German Diaspora. It was suggested that the delegates to the General Synod of 1848

should attempt to find suitable German brethren to carry on such a work and the matter was accordingly taken up at Herrnhut in the summer of 1848. After the General Synod, on November 8, 1848, the Bethlehem Elders began the formation of a Home Mission Society. At a meeting on January 24, 1849, a constitution was adopted to be presented to those members of the Bethlehem congregation "who had shown their interest by contributing to the first Home Mission collection which Bro. Shultz had been taking to assist the new German mission which had been commenced in Philadelphia and was attracting much attention in Bethlehem."[9] This work in Philadelphia was the work of the Rev. J. F. Fett, P. H. Gapp's predecessor, and it was the *very first* home mission of the modern Moravian Church. "Those contributors to the collection by Bro. Shultz, about eighty in number, constituted the original nucleus of the Bethlehem Home Mission Society."[10] Furthermore, the $120 "collected in Bethlehem in January and on March 13 turned over to the Sustentation treasury in aid of the new German work in Philadelphia was paid back to the Society in September (i.e. still 1849), and this was the first money expended in beginning its work in the Northwest."[11] Evidently there had been some disagreement between Bethlehem and Philadelphia as to the character of the work to be started. "Those who founded the Philadelphia society in the autumn of 1849 wished to concentrate effort on city missions and to control their funds and their missionary independently of Bethlehem."[12] This was a decision which was to have far reaching consequences.

It is hard to say just how many Germans came to America as a result of the appeal made at the General Synod of 1848, but there was a remarkable group of German Home Missionaries at that time. There was, for example, J. G. Kaltenbrunn who arrived in Bethlehem near the end of July, 1851, "a former teacher and itinerant worker of the Moravian Church in the circuit of Neusalz, in Silesia, with a strong recommendation from the minister of that congregation as a suitable man for Home Missionary Service."[13] He was a Home Missionary in New York for a short time, but spent most of this career at Watertown and Ebenezer, and died in Watertown in 1895. Fett, too, evidently was one of

those who came in response to the 1848 appeal. "On November 10, 1848, (he) arrived in America and ten days later found a fruitful field for gospel labors in Philadelphia."[14] He became a personal friend of P. H. Gapp who evidently was a member of the group Fett had formed in Philadelphia. Fett, who was born near Nuremburg on April 4, 1800, had joined the Moravians in 1832 and served as a Diaspora worker and as assistant to the Warden at Konigsfeld. After his brief mission in Philadelphia he served as a minister in Green Bay from 1850 to 1861, retired to Lititz, and died there in 1881.

It is not evident that others of P. H. Gapp's friends and coworkers in the German mission came to America in response to the 1848 appeal. There was J. Ulrich Guenther, from Eisenach, for example. He worked as a Moravian Home Missionary in New York, found a fruitful field in Newark, New Jersey, preached there for the Presbyterians and presently took the Newark Moravian group with him into the Presbyterian church. He visited P. H. Gapp in Egg Harbor in his later years and they remained friends, although Gapp could never quite understand why he had to turn over to the Presbyterians, taking his people with him.

Two home missionaries, younger than P. H. Gapp, came from his own Home Mission Church in Philadelphia. One of them, John Praeger, was his own assistant for a time. He was called away to take charge of the work in New York in 1854 because "At that time the Moravian Home Missionary in New York was appointed to a new charge in Newark, New Jersey ('This was presumably none other than Guenther') and Br. Praeger received and accepted a call from the Board of the Bethlehem Parent Home Missionary Society to fill this vacancy. Praeger, too, "had in his own country been engaged for several years in the service of the gospel",[16] but in Philadelphia in 1853 he had been earning his living in some "temporal profession". Praeger was born in 1825, but we know nothing of his life in Germany, nor how he happened to be in Philadelphia. After a brief career in New York City, he was pastor of Utica, New York, from 1861 to 1876, held pastorates at Elizabeth, at Lake Mills, at Green Bay, and for a time was Pettersen's assistant in Grand Rapids.

Then there was Philip H. Rommel, who was born in 1834 at Tillbach in Württemberg, and came to America in 1854. P. H. Gapp met him at the railroad station in Philadelphia, found that he had little or no knowledge of the English language and that he was very glad to find a fellow German who did. After some conversation, it was discovered that he, too, had some knowledge of the Diaspora. Rommel was the only one of the group who actually studied theology. He remained in Philadelphia for four years earning his living as a baker, and then spent 1858 to 1860 in the Theological Seminary in Bethlehem. Later he served in the New York Mission, in Lake Mills, and in 1870 succeeded P. H. Gapp as pastor of Riverside and Palmyra. He was pastor at Utica from 1881 to 1889 and retired from Emmaus in the summer of 1898, where his successor was S. H. Gapp.

Another of these men, who could possibly have been known to P. H. Gapp even in Germany, was a certain tailor named Louis Eysenbach, a very humble man. He was from Eberstadt, Hesse, where he had been born in 1819. Eberstadt is a suburb of Darmstadt and in Baudert's account of his Diaspora trip in 1853 (Cf. Footnote 3) he states that he visited Darmstadt. Eysenbach's career in the United States amounts to this: "Came to the United States in 1850. Lived at York, Lititz, Lancaster. 1854 colporteur of American Tract Society. 1862-1864 nurse at a hospital in Philadelphia. 1864-1865 chaplain of this hospital. Died in Bethlehem on April 19, 1893".[17] He was ordained by the church because of his work in the hospitals of the Civil War. It is worth noting that he, too, worked for the American Tract Society-where it is not stated: Philadelphia? He certainly must have met P. H. Gapp during the war, for Gapp visited military hospitals then, in addition to his monthly visits to the Blockley Almshouse. Eysenbach retired to Bethlehem where P. H. Gapp, who did not go out much in his last years because of his sickness (diabetes), often visited him in the tailor shop he had established in a small house on New Street, near Goepp, about opposite the present Pilgrim Holiness Church. At Eysenbach's funeral Reverend Leibert praised him profusely for his work in the Civil War and read extracts from his diary. This angered P. H. Gapp, who was

naturally one of the mourners, and he announced that nothing of that sort would ever happen at his funeral. He went home and burned a diary which he himself had kept. The loss of that diary, and of the "Lebenslauf" that presumably went with it, was a serious one for these memoirs!

The Philadelphia Church was aware of its responsibilities for home mission work among the Germans at least as soon as the church in Bethlehem. The years 1847 to well past 1850 were years of great immigration from Germany. These Germans landed at New York for the most part, but the history of the Moravian work in Philadelphia strongly suggests that most of them then proceeded by train to Philadelphia, and from there went on west to settle, there being but little for them in Philadelphia. The idea of a mission among these Philadelphia Germans dated from 1848, if not earlier. "He who first gave utterance to this idea [i.e. of the mission] and strongly advocated it, did not see the work begun. But when he was laid upon a dying bed, the first laborer in the cause (Rev. J. F. Fett) arrived in this city."[18] This man was Emanuel Rondthaler, pastor of the First Church until his death on November 30, 1848. Fett arrived on November 20; Emanuel Rondthaler was already sick with a fever. It is plain that he had in mind a nondenominational, city mission, NOT an attempt to found a new congregation.

> "This society is trying to carry out the earnest desire of the former pastor of this congregation that messengers might go forth into the courts and alleys, into the boarding-houses and taverns, where Germans can be found, and 'compel them to come in'—not to us, nor to any Church in Particular, but to Christ, the only Shepherd, High Priest, and Saviour".[19]

So the society declared in its very first report. And it is a fair conclusion that these very words just quoted were written by Edward Rondthaler, brother of the deceased Emanuel, who succeeded to the pastorate (after a pro tem arrangement) in April, 1849. Edward Rondthaler, who was the father of Bishop Edward Rondthaler of Winston-Salem, was the man who called the Philadelphia Home Mission Society into being in the fall of 1849. Evidently he hoped to carry out his brother's ideas.

Fett meanwhile had left for Wisconsin on October 3, 1849, being accompanied as far as New York by "Bro. F., a printer, who belonged to our German flock in Philadelphia."[20] Now the First Report of the Home Mission Society says: "The little flock which he ('Fett') had succeeded in gathering were now left in a great measure to themselves; and though they were able to attend the preaching of the gospel in German, both in our church on Sunday evenings, and elsewhere. ." But evidently they were not left entirely to themselves. For one thing there were the preaching services in the Race Street church on Sunday evenings. Evidently Edward Rondthaler was the preacher. Had these German preaching services been going on since Emanuel Rondthaler's day? It seems possible. They evidently continued. P. H. Gapp says: "In the beginning we gathered in private homes, and in the English Moravian Church on Race Street."[22] He himself kept some German preaching services there. Elsewhere he says: "Therefore Brother Rondthaler tried hard to induce me to speak extempore, which I finally did with great fear and trembling in the old Moravian Church on Race Street."[23] This first preaching with fear and trembling must have been between June 1, 1850, when P. H. Gapp began his mission work, and August, 1853, when Edmund de Schweinitz became pastor. I presume from the "finally" that it was near the end of that period, say in late 1852 or early in 1853. Are we to suppose that Edward Rondthaler had continued German preaching services on Sunday evenings up to that time?

The Philadelphia Record Book also shows that German Communion services were kept in the Race Street church up to the time that church was sold. Thus we read: "Sept. 4, 1853. Communion Sunday. In the afternoon the first Communion for the English congregation at which there were 101 partakers present. In the evening the second Communion for the German congregation, there being 24 present."[24] Similar notes exist for Nov. 13, 1853, January 15, 1854, April 16, 1854, and so on. However, we can go farther back than that, into Edward Rondthaler's time, by noting some figures in the financial account book of the church. Evidently the English Church bought the Communion wine for

the German congregation and this was recorded several times-on April 7, 1851, and January 11, 1851, for instance. Two of these notes may be quoted: "Nov. 17, 1850. Received for Br. Gapp for German Communion $.29" and "Oct. 21, 1849. German congregation. Expenses at Communion. $.29 ¾."[25] We might marvel at the prices, but the important thing is that the service of November, 1850, was held soon after P. H. Gapp began his work, but long before his ordination, and that the one in October, 1849, was only eighteen days after Fett left for Wisconsin, and many months before P. H. Gapp was called into service. These Communion services were therefore kept by Edward Rondthaler. An interesting description of these German Communion services appeared in the society's report for 1853:

> "We can assure the Christian reader, that we, who have often seen them collected on sacramental occasions, have been filled with heartfelt gratitude to the Lord and with a burning desire to do more for this cause, when we beheld their solemn attention, their brotherly union, their tears of joy and thankfulness; when we heard our noble German hymns harmoniously sung not only with the voice but with 'the understanding also', and perceived that the kiss with which these brethren parted was indeed the kiss of peace."[26]

The Philadelphia church, I might note, discontinued the custom of kissing at Communions and substituted the right hand of fellowship in March, 1856. Who was the writer of these words? Well, these reports came out in the January of the succeeding year. By January, 1854, Edmund de Schweinitz had been pastor of the church for about five months and this description probably describes the impression made upon him by the German Communion services over which he had presided in the last months of 1853.

It was on June 1, 1850, that Philip H. Gapp first entered the service of the church. Here is his own account of it:

> "After my predecessor, Br. Fett, had been called away from Philadelphia, where he labored 11 months, to Green Bay, Wis., Br. Edward Rondthaler succeeded in forming a Home Missionary Society in the First Moravian Church. This

society called me from my shoemaker shop to work as a Home Missionary among the many thousands of neglected German emigrants in that city, and to take charge of the little flock of about a dozen which my predecessor had left. I entered in that work on the first of June, 1850, with the understanding to spend one half of my time in missionary work, and the other half in my trade, and if I should not prove gifted enough, I should be allowed to give it up again. I soon found all hands full to do, so that after one year the society wished that I should spend my whole time in missionary work."[28]

From this statement we can readily conclude that the Philadelphia Home Mission Society dated from late October or November of 1849 (after Fett left), and that P. H. Gapp was faced with a double duty. He was to be a city missionary, in the manner already envisaged in Emanuel Rondthaler's time, and he was to take charge of the little group Fett had formed. Indeed, it seems that this second duty had been his before the date of his formal appointment. The Church Financial Record Book has these notes:

"November 25, 1849. From Br. Gapp

9 Text Books	$1.68 ¾
2 German Hymn Books	2.00
15 small ditto	7.50
	$11.18 ¾

March 17, 1850. 3 German Hymnbooks (Gapp) $1.50"[29]

The seventeen German hymnbooks which he bought less than two months after Fett's departure can only have been intended for the German congregation in its small, Diaspora type, meetings. This purchase suggests that he was then, in November, 1849, recognized as the leader of the group left by Fett and one might almost assume that he was in charge of their meetings, although he was not officially called to this work for many months later. He began this work with considerable trepidation. Years later he wrote of his first day as a missionary:

"I did not have any great confidence, for I understood the greatness and difficulty of the work. But that text for the same day I took as a strong staff loaned me by the Lord for my journey and I have not thrown it away to the present day: 'Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and declare unto my people their transgressions, and to the house of Jacob their sins'. Isaiah 58.1"[30]

I presume that it was on that every day, June 1, 1850, that he made his first visit as a city missionary:

"Made my first missionary visit with trembling. Found two widows, mother and daughter, to whom I offered a tract, which was willingly received. .I found in them two pious persons, who had seen much trouble, had lost their all on the voyage to America. .I felt encouraged by seeing their confidence in the Lord and ashamed of myself for my want of faith."[31]

It did not take him long to discover that his work was not to be with the wealthy Germans. When he rang the bell at their homes, he had to say what he could on the doorsteps, and was always turned away. With the poor it was different. When he knocked, they invited him in. He generally began by saying that he was bringing them a "Botschafter" (American Messenger) or a tract, was encouraged if they asked him to sit down, inquired first about their "outer circumstances" and then gradually brought the talk around to religion. He says that he usually made four points. 1. That, although they knew the Bible stories from their education in Germany, they needed a true Christian faith, a new birth. 2. That they should attend some church. 3. That they should send their children "in die Wochen und Sonntagsschulen". By "Wochenschulen" I presume that he means the weekday schools kept by the German churches; it does not seem entirely probable that he was recruiting for the Philadelphia public school system. 4. Only after that did he try to sell Bibles or to get subscriptions to the "Botschafter". He made such visits from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. every day. Several times he estimates that he visited from six to ten families a day and in the year 1859 he visited "upward of one thousand families."[32]

One of the things that impresses me most about his reports is the amount of theological discussion, of argument against sceptical views which he, a presumably theologically uneducated man, had to engage in. At the close of the first half year of his work, it is reported: "The missionary has on his visiting list 103 adults, of whom 27 are Rationalists."[33] In that first half year he had to contend with a man who "said he believed in no such God as is taught by the Old Testament, for that God is a terrible being."[34] He met another who "does not believe the immortality of the soul, nor the Deity of Jesus, nor the Providence of God."[35] He visited a rationalist "who attends the meetings kept by Ginal, the German infidel preacher."[36] He "conversed with a Rationalist, on the miracles of Christ, which he asserts to have been the result of his knowledge of animal magnetism."[37]

In later years he met men who "asserted that Jesus Christ had been a Communist (Socialist), and had never carried any money with Him, and also, that He had been a great champion for political freedom."[38] He met "an infidel who boasted that Thomas Paine had given Christianity a blow."[39] He met several men who "asserted that whoever did right would be saved; he might be a Christian, a Jew, or a Turk."[40] In his reports he tells what each of these men said; he also tells us what he said in answer to them. In the *Brüder Botschafter* article he tells us that as late as 1872 he still had some of these conversations, carefully written out in dialogue form. One of them is preserved for us in his report for 1858 where it takes up more than a page. This dialogue was with "a woman who had received a liberal education in Germany, but unfortunately read too many anti-Christian, and too few Christian books." Her standpoint was: "My father taught me that Christ was a wise man, but not the Son of God. I have also read the *Life of Jesus*, by Strauss." Then follows a long discussion, the missionary's point being that "it requires as great, or even a greater stretch of faith to believe Strauss's explanation of the gospel history, than the history itself."[41] Evidently he had several conversations with this woman and nearly, but not quite, convinced her. He also meet Swedenborgians with whome he had long arguments on mysticism, and Jews, who were not willing to

accept Christ as their Messiah, though willing to recognize Him as a great member of their race.

The problem of the German Catholics occupied his mind almost daily. With Catholics he carefully avoided beginning with controversy, and first spoke of Jesus Christ, only later coming to the differences between Protestant and Catholic. At that time they were likely to tell him: "That is Luther's Bible; that is false."[42] Well, in the 1950s it is said that nothing is gained by theological argument. I am not sure that this is true. Home missions today might profit by these discussion methods, borrowed no doubt from the German Diaspora. They might be better than the present conspiracy of silence which waives all theological questions as of no importance.

The scepticism which greeted him in 1850 was of course largely due to political and religious conditions in Germany. The Philadelphia Home Mission Society noted in the introduction to its very first report: "They come from a land of infidelity, many of them imbued with infidel principles, for which they deserve our pity, having been mislead for years by careless and unbelieving ministers, and being prejudiced against Christianity, by seeing it advocated by those who use it as one of their instruments of despotism."[43] This was no doubt one reason why P. H. Gapp felt, in June, 1850, that the work would prove hard. He did not have long to wait. A month or two later some emigrants in a tavern told him that "aristocracy, priestcraft, and christianity" were "one and the same thing." They expressed "a hope that when the nobility were brought down the church would be exterminated." But he argued with them on one point after another and finally they had no more to say. "Such men are after all to be pitied," he concluded. "They know not what they do and the unjust laws in some parts of Germany, the exclusive privileges of the nobility, and the unfaithfulness of many ministers afford them some excuse for their false motions."[44] Later he met a "man who seemed to live in revolutionary notions, and to be filled with thoughts of vengeance against clergymen and princes." The Home Mission Society continued its despairing view of the situation at least until January, 1854, when the Third Report

states: "The emigrant population is no longer a handful, but a multitude; and the elements which compose it are to a great extent of the worst and most baneful kind."[46] Their missionary had been more hopeful in the preceding year:

> "It will interest the friends of Christ and those who look for the real prosperity of this country to hear that, as far as Philadelphia is concerned, a better class of emigrants has been arriving during the past year. Those who came the three preceding years were in a great measure men of wild revolutionary ideas, in fact Red Republicans, full of bitterness against God and man, confounding christianity with priestcraft, and many of them no doubt homestly convinced that the doctrines of the Bible are necessarily allied with the despotic principles of European monarchies. But during the past year, I have found that nearly three fourths of the emigrants carry their Bibles with them."[47]

This he wrote in January, 1853. Evidently 1851, 1850, and 1849 were the years of the Red Republicans. The years after 1848 were years of great German emigration to this country precisely because revolutionary movements in Germany itself had failed. A man who hoped to present the Christian faith to these emigrants had to bear the brunt of their opposition to religion.

There was not so much argument in the work he carried on among the sick and the poor. When he speaks of the sick, we come upon a theme that is frequent in Moravian Home Mission work; he almost anxiously tried not to seem to be taking converts from other churches: "I visit all sick persons with whom I become acquainted, and who have no other spiritual comforter, always making it a rule to interfere with the spiritual labors of none." At the beginning he found "a few families that are suspicious of me, because they think I am a Methodist or a Baptist, against whom they are much prejudiced. I say everywhere when I am asked that I serve no party, but bring the gospel of Christ."[48] This idea he carried out faithfully in his visits to the sick. Years later he could write: "I visited many of them until their death and hope to find them again in the other world."[49] There is indeed a family tradition that during a smallpox epi-

demic he went from house to house with food and medicine. Many of these sick people had been deserted by their relatives and might have starved except for his efforts. However, he himself did not contract the disease.

Many of the German immigrants were poor, almost destitute, when they arrived in Philadelphia. They needed not only someone who knew their language, and the strange country in which they had landed; they needed material help. This was recognized by the Philadelphia Home Mission Society as early as the 1852 report: "We desire to draw the attention of Christian friends more especially to the miserable poverty and utter destitution which often come under the eye of our Missionary, and which he is hardly ever able to relieve, not having means at his command."[50] A separate Almoner's Fund was accordingly set up. In the very next year Gapp spent $45.02 from the fund—"Of this amount $15 were voted by the Home Mission Society and $30.02 were obtained from Christian friends and from the collection which we take up after each German communion. Secondly, donations of food and clothing from Br. A. Deip, city missionary of the American Tract Society."[51] In the winter of 1854-1855 he says that he met more poverty than ever before and remarks that "it stands to reason that when I find such as are actually in want of their daily bread, I cannot merely give them spiritual food."[52] He quotes the epistle of James as his authority, and notes that the sum he had to dispose of in 1854 amounted to $69.59, in addition to coal and provisions from Br. A. Seip. The report for 1856 notes that a Dorcas Society has been organized and that the ladies of the church have donated many things to the poor. Furthermore, "donations in money or clothing" can be received at the Moravian Book Store, which was then on Arch Street, near 7th. In the 1858 report he comments: "The ladies of the Dorcas society presented me with ninety-two garments for distribution among the poor, which duty I performed to the great joy of the recipients, who were often at a loss to express their gratitude."[53] By the 1859 report the Dorcas Society's contribution had reached "124 garments of various kinds"[54] and this continued to be a feature of his work until the end.

There were also a number of places which he regularly visited. He began to enter the German taverns in search of emigrants early in his career. In the report for 1850 he speaks of several such visits: "Visited a tavern for the first time. Knowing before hand, what class of persons I might expect to find there, I felt very anxious and prayed the Lord to assist me. I sat down and observed the conduct of those around me. Their conversation was so wild and heathenish that I almost lost heart."[55] This particular first time, however, he was well received when he offered his "American Messenger"; other times it did not go so well, and he was merely involved in a more or less alcoholic argument. Evidently he kept up such visits until well into 1853, for the report for that year contains many more of his tavern experiences. However, he was beginning to have his doubts: "I have frequently visited the German taverns and I do not believe that my visits were all lost labour. But it must be confessed that at such places many a pearl is cast before swine."[56] In an account of his work which he wrote in 1872 he was more definite: "At one time I also used to go into the taverns but soon found that this meant casting pearls before swine and so I gave it up."[57] I presume the tavern visits were at an end by 1854, for we hear no more of them in his later reports. The problem of drunkenness remained; he has something to say about his experiences with alcoholics in nearly all of his reports.

Monthly visits to the city poor house formed an extension of his work among the poor and sick. "For fourteen years I spent one half day every month in the city Poor House where there were always from 60 to 80 Germans."[58] On each such visit he gave out 300 "Messengers" among the English reading residents, obtained from from the American Tract Society, and made a special effort to visit the hospital of the almshouse. Almost every report has some reference to this work. In 1856, for example, he says: "Monthly visits to the Blockley Hospital. The inmates of the Hospital impatiently await my coming, as often as I bring the American Messenger."[59] These visits continued as long as he remained in the city. In the Civil War period he also visited army hospitals. "At the time of the war I also visited regularly in the

military hospitals and distributed writings."[61] The *Evening Bulletin's* "100 Years in Philadelphia" has a picture of the city almshouse as it was in that time and notes that "Blockley Almshouse is now a part of Philadelphia General Hospital." It was "one of Philadelphia's earliest institutions for the care of the poor and the insane. Its first inmates were admitted in 1834."[61] In 1953 there was a notice in a Philadelphia paper that these old buildings had been condemned and were to be torn down. They stood directly across the street from Convention Hall and the Commercial Museum. Really, they were a little out of P. H. Gapp's territory. Most of the time he did not cross the Schuylkill but worked in the old city between the two rivers.

There remains standing, however, at least one building which he regularly entered and that building is Moyamensing Prison. "For almost 12 years I spent one half day every month in Moyamensing. .Among the 600 to 700 prisoners I found always 40 to 50 Germans. Each one was alone in his cell and I got a key, so that I could go in to each one."[62] It can hardly have been as simple as it sounds—"Give me a skeleton key. I want to see the German prisoners."! No doubt he was well known to the prison authorities and had privileges which few men had. At any rate, he says, the prisoners were glad to be visited in their loneliness and they read his "Botschafter" and were glad for other good books which he brought them from the prison library. He had no special illusions about the religion of the convicts. Many of them were hardened criminals who pretended to be converted so that "I should help to get them out of jail", and quickly reverted to their usual habits of life when they saw that nothing of the sort would happen. However, there were others whose story was simply that they were tempted and fell, breaking the law, and these men often really repented and never came a second time into jail. Some of these men he visited later in their homes and they "showed themselves very grateful" for his interest. Hardly any of his yearly reports do not have some story about Moyamensing. "They seem glad to see me," he says in 1852 as if surprised. "I have found that, in general, they are more willing to listen to the truth than many who enjoy their freedom."[63]

As early as that year, he was convinced that at least one prisoner was soundly converted and he "was pleased to hear both from his wife and from others that his conduct is entirely changed, that he is a faithful provider for his family, and a consistent Christian."[64] There are similar cases later. Some times the results were not so fortunate. In the 1854 report he tells of a man who had promised him most solemnly, while in Moyamensing 'two years ago", that he would give up the alcoholic habit; "lately" he met him on the street, hopelessly convinced that "I am a drunkard, and a drunkard I will remain."[65] Two of his most interesting cases show up in the 9th and 10th Annual Reports. In the 9th report, for 1859, he says: "I am visiting a young man, in the prison at present, who received an excellent education in Germany, and studied at several universities." At the time of that report, presented to the annual meeting of January 16, 1860, this man was beginning to show an interest in religion. In the next report, for the year of 1860, P. H. Gapp prints at length two letters, one dated at Moyamensing on December 20, 1860, and the other from the man's wife—"Mrs. E--- R---", expressing their gratitude for his work in the prison. He describes this man as "a man of good education, having enjoyed advantages in an European university. He is at present serving out a three months' sentence in Moyamensing prison, for having knowingly received and passed off counterfeit money."[66] The dates probably forbid the counterfeiter's being the same man as the previous prisoner. Both of them, it seems, had prepared for Moyamensing in a German university, and Gapp had high hopes of their eventual reformation, not necessarily on account of their university background. He continued to go to Moyamensing until well into the 1860s. In 1861 conditions were different: "In former years I found in this place in an everage about forty persons; but now only one half the number are confined here, as some of the regular customers have joined the army."[67] I trust that General McClellan found them of some use!

Neither the almshouse nor the prison gave him the opportunities for evangelism to be found at the railroad depot which, in those days, stood at the corner of Walnut and Dock Streets. "For

nearly eight years I was among the emigrants every day from 10 to 11 A. M. in the railroad cars when they had to enter them in Dock Street to go west. Many hundred Bibles and Testaments were carried to the West from there."[68] In the 1852 report he says: "I visit the Walnut Street Railroad Depot every morning and take every opportunity of conversing religiously with the German emigrants."[69] The 1853 report adds: "Every new day I found a new congregation to serve. .This field of labor has grown very dear to me, because I meet with many souls open to the influence of the gospel."[70] For the year 1854 he gives us some figures: "In the course of the year I have distributed among them ('The emigrants in Dock St.') six thousand copies of the American Messenger, and thirty thousand pages of tracts, received from the American Tract Society in monthly grants of 2500 pages."[71] This work continued until October, 1857, when he ended "my labours at the Pennsylvania Railroad Depot, in the way of distributing Bibles to the Germans who pass through the city."[72] By that time most of the immigrants were being supplied with Bibles, either at the ports of departure in Europe, or at New York. The work with the Bible had begun early. In 1852 he had "offered one of the colporteurs of the Philadelphia Bible Society to assist him in the distribution of the Bible among the German emigrants?" and had, incidentally, received a "remuneration, unasked and unexpected, . .pressed upon me by the friend whose duties I am able to lighten."[73] However, whether it was Bibles or American Messengers or tracts, he was at the station every morning for eight years. From the statements quoted, it would seem that the train for the West left at 11 A. M. Most of the emigrants stopped in Philadelphia for only a short time. Work for Germans was scarce there; new government land was still to be had out West for homesteaders, and the average German landed at New York, perhaps went on to Philadelphia, but from there started anew on his journeys- to Wisconsin, Minnesota, the Dakotas. That, indeed, was the main reason why a German Moravian church was not established in Philadelphia.

But before we get to the history of the Philadelphia German congregation it might be well to look at a few events of the year

1854. It was an important year for the Philadelphia Home Mission Society and for its missionary. It was in this year that the society felt able to support another missionary and, accordingly, Brother Praeger was appointed. The society had some financial good luck. Brother Seip had obtained a legacy of $150 for home missionary work among the Germans.[74] This enabled Praeger to go into the mission work on a half time basis on March 1, 1854, and soon after that through a "private arrangement" with the president of the society, a man named Fred Wilhelm, he went on full time service. However, he was soon called away to the New York mission. After that, it seems that Brother John F. Bayer[75] became P. H. Gapp's assistant, but this must have been an unofficial arrangement, and Bayer was never ordained. However, the society's finances were not as sound as one might suppose. Even then, in 1854, "we have a stated income of only $80, and are dependent on voluntary contributions for the rest."[76] The $80 came from the eighty regular subscribing members of the society who each paid $1 a year. P. H. Gapp's salary throughout all of his work in Philadelphia was $250 a year. (For comparison purposes I might note that Edmund de Schweinitz got $600 a year and a parsonage when he became pastor of the church.) The society then made an appeal for 250 members for the society, each to give a dollar, adducing the fact that the work was of so undenominational a character that any Christian could conscientiously support it. Two years later, on July 1, 1856, they had 98 members, many of whom gave more than the stated $1, but still they had not nearly reached $250 a year. The donations by various friends, the collections from the Germans in Philadelphia—and $5.40 from Palmyra-, along with a legacy of over $200 made the finances not only balance, but even seem prosperous. There were no 250 subscribers. For 1860 the secretary's report showed: "Subscriptions received $115.00

Donations	144.00
Evening Collections	12.35
Total Receipts	$271.35."

He notes that the missionary's salary was still $250 a year and that other expenses "such as printing report, distribution of American Messengers amount to $20.00, so that the above would just about have paid our expenses, had there not been a balance of, say $20.00, due from the year 1859. Hence, we shall be slightly deficient this year also."[77] The secretary then went on to say that the better state of the society was "mainly owing to the large increase in the contribution of the German congregation."[78] In 1859 they had contributed $50; in 1860 it was $95. It does not seem that the First Church ever would have raised $250 a year without these extra contributions. However, in 1854 most of that was in the future and the English congregation was occupied with the problems of selling its old building and preparing to build and move into a new one. The original church of colonial times, at the southeast corner of Race Street and Moravian Alley, now called Bread Street, had been torn down and replaced in 1819. This second church was sold on March 7, 1854; there was a service of farewell in April and the congregation then moved to a temporary home in the Whitefield Chapel. The new church on the southwest corner of Wood and Franklin Streets was not occupied until 1856.[79]

The sale of the old Moravian Church on Race Street where the Germans had held their communion services and some preaching services, although they continued to have meetings in private homes, principally at 404 St. John's Street, was the occasion for a new venture by the home mission congregation whose history I am so long in reaching. "When that church was sold ('the Race St. church') we rented a hall at the corner of 4th and Green Sts. and met there for about ten years."[80] In the report for 1854 he says:

> "Up to the middle of last year [writing in January, 1855] we were in the habit of meeting for divine worship in the house in St. John's Street, in which I board. Now we have rented a meeting hall at the northeast corner of Green and Fourth Streets, where we hold public service every Sunday morning and evening. The experience of the last half year has proved the choice of this new locality to have been a very good one.

The services are well attended; and there generally are, especially of an evening, a number of strangers present."[81]

The hall cost them $65 a year and the small congregation was able to pay that themselves, altho it did reduce their contributions to other causes. This site, another of the "might have been" Moravian Churches, was only a few blocks from the house occupied some ten years earlier by Edgar Allen Poe, near 6th and Green. It is not a prosperous neighbourhood now; there are some Negroes, some displaced persons recently escaped from the Hitler terror, and a mixture of other races. On the southeast corner of 4th and Green there is a neighbourhood settlement house located in a former Friends' meeting house. That building was erected in the early 1800s; it stood there in the middle of 1854 when the German congregation so hopefully began its work. On the northeast corner of 4th and Green now stands a small printshop with apartments over it. It is doubtful that there is anything left of the hall which was a Moravian church for ten years.

The sale of the Race Street church led to the renting of this hall at 4th and Green; it also fixed the locale of P. H. Gapp's ordination. Soon after the renting of that hall, on August 1, 1854, he had become an American citizen. The ordination was a double one- Praeger to go on to New York to take charge of the mission there, and Gapp to become a regular minister of the congregation at 4th and Green. It took place on November 5, 1854, in the "Whitfield Chapel, Old Academy, N. 4th St., below Arch."[82] These buildings dated from November, 1740, when the popularity of Whitefield led his admirers to plan a special building for him which should be open to preachers of all denominations. It stood "on the west side of 4th Street, commencing 100 feet south of Mulberry or Arch Street," and had a 150 foot front and a 98 foot depth.[83] In 1749 Franklin opened his academy, out of which the University of Pennsylvania grew, and he presently got control of the Whitefield movement on condition that a place of public worship be always maintained. The building was altered for school purposes and used as a college until 1802. After that the "Old Academy" reverted to its original purposes and a hall was appropriated to religious meetings "in the second story of the

northern portion of the building."[84] Even this was not the scene of the ordination for, in 1839-1840, "a hall was built on the rear portion of the ground, in which a room was dedicated for the use of ministers of the gospel or religious sects, stipulated for when the new building was erected to accommodate Whitefield in 1741."[85] The First Church used this hall, connected by legal necessity at least with Whitefield, for the time between the sale of the second (building) church in 1854 and the dedication of the third building in 1856. The location of Whitefield's building is now marked by a tablet up a narrow lane next to 62 North 4th Street. Across the street is a Friends meeting house which presumably was also there in 1854.

The actual ordination services began at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The church diary states that the chapel was so crowded that some people could not get in; there is this description of the service: "Bishop Jacobson entered the chapel, followed by Br. Seidel, leading Br. Gapp, and Br. Schw., leading Br. Praeger."[86] Bishop Jacobson delivered a short address in German to the mission congregation while the English congregation doubtless waited patiently until he finished this and got to the ordinations which they had come to witness. "This day of ordination", P. H. Gapp said in his 1854 report, "will ever be, to me, one of the great memorial days of my life. He received a "communion and baptismal service" from "several of our friends in the English congregation" and "a surplice which was so kindly given to me by a sister of the same congregation."[87]

Later notations in the Philadelphia church Diary indicate that he took some part in the work of the English congregation. At the English Communion of February 18, 1855, "Bro. Schw. was assisted by Br. Gapp who will in future take part in the service whenever he can."[88] A similar notation appears for December 16, 1855. On April 30, 1855, he was in the procession of ministers taking part in the laying of the corner stone for the new church at Franklin and Wood Streets? It is somewhat curious to note that he was also present on April 16, 1855, when Edmund de Schweinitz received several students into his home for lectures in place of accepting a call to the Theological Seminary in Bethle-

hem. These four students were in Philadelphia for about a year and it is at least possible that P. H. Gapp took some part in the work they were doing there to prepare for the ministry. If he did not attend a formal course of lectures on theology, he certainly did quite a bit of reading on theological subjects, and this was presumably the case in these very years before he was pastor of an organized congregation.

Before we get to the matter of the congregation at 4th and Green, suppose we consider the materials he used. Several times there have been references to a "Botschafter" or "American Messenger". This was a magazine published in German (and in English) of a definitely Christian but just as definitely non-denominational character. It contained current events, stories, and had naturally quite a bit to say about conditions back in Germany. It printed many items of religious interest and P. H. Gapp used it nearly all of his life. The First Report of the Home Mission Society says: "The 'American Messenger', issued by the American Tract Society, has done much good, and has seemed like a key that unlocked the doors of men's hearts. Of this truly christian paper, which never enters into denominational questions or disputes, and which takes a christian view of whatever political news it may insert,. . .our Missionary now circulates about one hundred copies a month."[89] Two years later P. H. Gapp says: "During the last year I distributed 5539 copies of the German American Messenger. Of these 3000 were given to emigrants; the rest have circulated among residents in the city."[90] He then had 277 paying subscribers and felt that if his only occupation was to extend the circulation of the paper, he could easily have spent all his time doing it. He thought that he could have just as many subscribers in Kensington and Richmond, if he could find someone to undertake this duty, and in those sections of the city there was then "no German church, nor anything done for those who speak the German language." He continues; "I attach great importance to the circulation of the Messenger. No one can read it without perceiving that it must be effective for much good. . .It is a quiet but powerful gospel preacher."[91] In 1853 he gave out 6470 Messengers,[92] and as late as 1860 he considered it important to

note that "I distribute monthly 450 American Messengers."[93] Throughout these references to tracts and the Messenger one comes frequently to the name of "Bro. A. Seip, city missionary of the American Tract Society."[94] This man was evidently a Moravian employed full time by the American Tract Society and he and P. H. Gapp were closely associated for the fifteen years Gapp was working in Philadelphia. Gapp was enthusiastic about the Messenger; he was not always so sure about the tracts:

> "It must be confessed," he says, "that some Tracts, written no doubt with a good intention, present incorrect views of religion and conversion, or are written in a style to excite the prejudices even of the well-meaning and religiously inclined. And experience has shown that the mixture of truth and error in a book that is to serve as a religious guide is extremely injurious; and it does not appear to me to be a correct principle to circulate any work evidently containing unscriptural doctrines for the sake of the scripture truths that may be even largely found in it."[95]

However, whatever criticism he may have had of some of their efforts, he continued to work with the publications of the American Tract Society for many years; presumably his close association with the city missionary of that organization had more than a little to do with it.

The first thing to say about the Philadelphia German Home Mission congregation is what he himself said: "I began with about a dozen members left by my predecessor and they were nearly all my own friends from the old fatherland where we were all connected with the Diaspora and were visited by Brother Baudert from Neuwied in Wiesbaden and other neighbouring towns."[96] The form of this statement has often made me wonder whether this dozen came *as a group*, but I have never been able to find any evidence either way. At any rate, the question at issue now is: To what extent was the work in Philadelphia a continuation of the Diaspora method and to what extent was it a deliberate attempt to found a new congregation? Certainly P. H. Gapp had some of the ideas of the Diaspora. Years later, in describing the beginning of the Palmyra work, he says: "I gave out an appoint-

ment to all in that neighbourhood to meet with me in the evening, and as many as knew of it came. They expected that I would preach to them; but I preferred to make trial of the method pursued by our Diaspora brethren in Germany. This was something quite new to them. "On his way home next day, on the steamboat from Riverton to Philadelphia he "felt very much blessed withal, and the remembrance of those former happy days in Germany, when the Diaspora Brethren used to visit us and keep such meetings came fresh to mind."[97] It seems probable, therefore, that in 1850 he also began to work in the manner of the Diaspora. However, his disappointment at not being able to establish a Moravian congregation at Fourth and Green was intense. In 1872 he compared that work to a beloved child who is sick for many years and then finally dies. It gave him a great deal of trouble and worry: "twice the congregation was nearly broken up, because so many members were forced to move on account of unemployment."[98] He said he felt like a horse in a treadmill, always going around in a circle, unable to see a beginning or an end of his labor. If Job and Jeremiah suffered as he did, he thought that he could excuse them for cursing the day of their birth. He felt this way for months, but finally became reconciled to the idea of giving it up.

Some of the facts that lay behind this feeling can be gathered from his reports. He began with "about a dozen"; by the end of the year (1850) there were 41 (members? communicants?),[99] and that was the highest it was ever to reach, if you count only people who lived in Philadelphia and assume that they were all communicants. The largest Communion services that were held at Fourth and Green were attended by 31, on December 31, 1854, and 30, on April 8, 1955.[100] The ups and downs of this congregation can best be seen from the accompanying statistics sheet, but there are other things to note. Even the 1850 report states that while he gained 22 members in seven months, eight of them had already left the city.[101] The 1852 report says that many of them who understand English frequently "attend the English service in your church" and then adds: "Much increase there cannot be, for these two reasons: first, I would not desire to gather from

other churches, and secondly, there would be little use in collecting a number of unconverted persons merely for the sake of outward appearance of success."[102] He doesn't seem perturbed about it then, and indeed I get the impression that no serious attempt was made to found a new congregation until after the move to Fourth and Green. The 1853 report has about the same thing to say: "Our little flock in towh has gone its silent, peaceful way. We meet for divine worship every Sunday evening [presumably on Race Street?] and our meetings are well attended."[103] In 1854 a change is noticed. They are now at 4th and Green, have a rent to pay, and strangers are entering their meetings. Furthermore, "We have organized a Sunday School. As yet it is very small, for there are but few children, belonging to our congregation, old enough to attend; and it is an exceedingly difficult matter to induce strange children to come. .The Northern Liberties Bible Society made a grant of thirty-six testaments for the use of the school."[104] At Easter of 1855 there were "six persons added to our number by reception, and two by confirmation. . .a delightful celebration of Easter."[105] In November, 1855, a "German Mission Society for Philadelphia "was organized to spread the gospel" among the Germans in Philadelphia through visits in their houses and by personal conversations". This society had among its officers members of the Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist, Reformed and Evangelical churches. John F. Bayer and J. C. Enders, from the congregation at Fourth and Green, were the Moravian representatives.[106] The 1856 report was quite optimistic about the Sunday School: "Our Sunday School, under the superintendency of Br. Enders, has prospered more than any other part of the work. The number of children is more than double of what it was last year. We have seventy names enrolled, the average attendance being between forty and fifty. A library has been instituted, numbering at present sixty-two volumes. . The library is of great importance, for most of the parents belong to no church, and can themselves be benefited by the books which their children bring home. "In other respects the work was not so prosperous:" Nearly all our members are poor; many of them are afflicted with sickness. .The circumstances here stated have been a severe school for me, but certainly to my good."[107]

However, in 1857 disaster struck. He was still preaching twice every Sunday at Fourth and Green but "The Sunday School is not as numerous as it was last year, owning to the resignation of Br. Enders, who was so well adapted to the work, and had labored so faithfully and successfuly. Br. Enders resigned on account of his health and died on the last day of the old year. [Dec. 31, 1857?] I have at last succeeded in getting another brother to fill his place."[108] His troubles with the Sunday School continued through 1858: "Our Sunday School caused me much anxiety in the last year. The brother who had charge of it was obliged to resign his post and, in consequence, the school was at one time almost entirely broken up. I have succeeded, with great difficulty, in reorganizing it, and it is now again attended by about thirty children."[109] In the course of 1858 he baptized 26 children, married 5 couples, and attended to five funerals and the congregation at Fourth and Green numbered 40 communicants and 31 children.[110] In the 1859 report we read that they are having services every Sunday morning, but only on every alternate Sunday evening, because "During the past year I attended to my outposts, at Palmyra and Westfield, N. J., on the afternoon of every alternate Sunday."[111] In this year he began including in the number of his communicants 12 people who lived at Palmyra—a significant fact. There were 41 communicants but only 22 of them lived in Philadelphia as 7 others, in addition to the 12 in Palmyra, lived somewhere out of city limits. Their contributions for 1859 were rather good. They were still, paying $65 for the rent of the meeting hall, but managed to raise, despite their poverty, $84 for foreign missions, $64 for the First Church Home Mission society, and to pay $17.50 towards the mission church at Chaska, Minnesota.

The story was about the same in 1860; there were then 47 communicants, of whom 14 lived in Palmyra and 9 out of city limits. There had been 21 baptisms, 2 marriages, and one death, and they paid $95 to the Philadelphia Home Mission Society, $78 for Foreign Missions, their usual $65 hall rent, and had contributed $28 for the church at Egg Harbor City, $10 to a church at Covesville (Canadensis?), and $6.50 for the church at Ephraim,

Wisconsin. In 1860, then, it was already a divided congregation, nearly half of whose members lived outside the city. He closes the 1860 report by stating that "We have on a previous occasion submitted to the society our request and proposals in reference to the building of a church, of which edifice we stand sadly in need."[112] This may refer to the need of a building in the city, but in the context it seems more probably to refer to the church in Palmyra which was then several years in the future.

The years of the Civil War seem to have been the ones that finally finished off the Philadelphia German congregation. Its decline can be traced in the figures for attendance at communion. For 1862 these figures read: 10, 13, 12, 13, 12, 11. There were only two communions in all of 1863, with attendances of 13 and 14. By 1863 the First Church was ready to give up its German work, and thinking of going into the English speaking mission work which eventually resulted in the Second Church in Philadelphia, a congregation which also no longer exists. This is first noted in *The Moravian* for November 25, 1863: "Some time ago the Philadelphia Home Mission Society took the preliminary steps for severing their offical connection with the church at Palmyra, N. J., commending their missionary, Rev. P. H Gapp, to the care of the Provincial Board, who have promised to assume the entire control of his field of labor after the first of January next." In this connection we must not forget what was going on in Palmyra. They had bought a lot there for $150 in 1860—"one mile from Palmyra in the center of our Germans". Stone had been quarried by the brethren and friends. The actual building, planned for the spring of 1861, was stopped by the war; however, the contract was let in 1862 and although the work went very slowly it stood half finished "only under roof" for the winter of 1862 and was finished and consecrated on May, 17, 1863. It cost a grand total of $1325.19!!

When, therefore, the Philadelphia Home Mission Society severed P. H. Gapp's connection with their organization, his future plans were already decided; he was to go to Palmyra. During the course of his work in Philadelphia the Provinicial Elders' Conference had given him a call elsewhere three different

times but "the English congregation prevented it each time."[113] The end of his connection with the Philadelphia First Church came, then, on the evening of January 20, 1864, at the annual meeting of the society. The report then presented was called his "Annual and Last" and he notes with regret that "The connection" is "about to cease this evening." "Thirteen years and seven months have elapsed since I received at your hands the appointment to become your Home Missionary."[114] "More than two years ago", this report continues", it became a fixed conviction of my mind that it would be impossible for me to establish a self supporting congregation in the city." It begins to be evident that it was in late 1861 and early in 1862 when he felt so upset about the decline of that congregation. A last trace of the Philadelphia German mission appears in a report dated January 21, 1865. He is still living in St. John's Street but speaks of moving to Palmyra. There are still 21 communicants in the city and he continues to make his monthly visits to the Blockley Almshouse and Moyamensing Prison. However, now he is preaching at Palmyra and at Progress (Riverside) on alternate Sundays and holds services in the city "only on Thursday evenings". "They desire to cleave together as long as I reside in the city."[115] Then there is one last Communion service on April 14, 1865, attended by 19 people, and the German Moravian congregation in Philadelphia has come to an end. P. H. Gapp was ordained a presbyter on the second anniversary of the consecration of the Palmyra church, May 17, 1865; was married to a member of his Palmyra congregation on September 7, 1865; attempted to find a home there could not, and eventually moved to Riverside on October 20, 1865.

The failure of this work at Fourth and Green remained a sore spot with him. "But this little congregation was a great trouble and a great trial to me. My faithful friends moved by and by away to the west. Others came in and when they had troubled me for a while they also moved away. It took a great while to prepare persons for reception, and when we had them we could not keep them. There was a constant moving west." As reasons for the failure he gives: "First, I may not be the man fit for such

a work. Second, I was not properly supported to build a church, without which there will never be success in a large city. Third, when I commenced that work there were seven German churches and when I left there were fourteen. They had nice churches with everything to attract people; they had parochial schools and graveyards, and we have nothing but the preaching. Fourth, the constant removal."[116] In 1872 he writes with a trace of indignation that "if we could have kept all the members we took in, we would have had more than a hundred and a congregation that probably could have been self supporting." "If I could have added the one little word 'Lutheran', without changing my own beliefs in any way, I could have gathered in those fifteen years not merely one but several numerous congregations."[117] The reasons he gave for his failure to found a new congregation are no doubt sufficient, but we must not forget that the work was begun primarily as a city mission and only secondarily as an attempt to found a Moravian congregation. This aim of the Philadelphia church is indeed the reason given by Levering for a separation between the Philadelphia Home Mission Society and the Central Society in Bethlehem; the Philadelphia people "wished to concentrate effort on city missions." (Cf. footnote #12, page 5) In 1849 a city mission of an undenominational character was planned to bring the gospel to Philadelphia's German population. In that respect the work was a success. The impression I get from P. H. Gapp's early reports is that the little flock was only a Diaspora group. It was not until the hall was rented and the ill-fated Sunday School begun that any attempt was made to form a new congregation—and then it proved impossible to go in two directions at once. It could not succeed as a new Moravian congregation and as a non-denominational city mission at the same time. I do not discover that any attempt was ever made to build a church for the Germans in Philadelphia, nor would the Philadelphia Home Mission Society have had Sufficient resources to carry it through, if an attempt had been made.

In one of his reports P. H. Gapp states that his work at that time was so undenominational that no one could possibly tell where he might be preaching next Sunday. He did cover a great

deal of ground from the very first. On November 14, 1854, for example, he gave Communion to "two people in Bucks County". What he was doing in Bucks County I couldn't imagine. He records a Communion given to five people on November 11, 1857, at Harleysville, an otherwise unmentioned preaching place. The 1854 report says: "There has been opened to us a new 'door of utterance', namely in South Camden, N. J. . .Br. Bayer has accordingly taken the matter in hand, and will, for the future, hold a service in Camden every Sunday afternoon. We have also been invited to visit Centreville, four miles below Camden, where there are a number of Germans entirely neglected."[118] In the *Brüder Botschafter* article he says: "With the permission of a Presbyterian preacher I preached for six months, every other Sunday afternoon, in his church in the northern part of the city-in Richmond." These meetings were at first well attended, but the attendance grew smaller and he finally gave it up. This was in 1858. In the same year he "opened a new station at Moorestown, N. J.",[119] of which nothing further is known. He also "preached four or five months to the Germans in Gloucester, N. J., three miles below Camden, in a Presbyterian church; they didn't have any other service and the meetings were at first well attended, but my preaching didn't suit them, because I insisted on their giving up their sins."[120] It is probable that these are only a few of the places where he preached during his stay in Philadelphia. He always had a group of filials or preaching places, until the very end of his active career. One of the greatest disappointments of his later life, for example, was the fact that the church could not, or at any rate did not, send someone to Atlantic City to form a congregation of the people he has been visiting there. He was convinced that this could be done successfully, sometime early in the 1880s.

And so it is natural that the successes which grew out of the failure to establish a congregation in Philadelphia should come largely from these extra preaching places. There were other good points. He was proud of the fact that two home missionaries, Praeger and Rommel, came from his small group in Philadelphia. Those who left Philadelphia were not always lost to the church;

some of them went to New York and joined the German mission there; some few of them turned up in Lititz and other established congregations. "One young brother from this flock went out to Minnesota, who was the direct cause of commencing a mission there."[121] This was Bro. F. Mast who received the first home missionary in Minnesota, Martin Erdmann, on June 14, 1858, at a place called Henderson, about 20 miles from Chaska. On July 11 Bro. Erdmann married Bro. Mast to Sister Catherine Waelde, and this was the first Moravian marriage in the state. There was a congregation organized at Henderson in October of 1858, but by 1865 it came to an end. The reasons-Indians drove the people away. What happened to Mast who had evidently been in Philadelphia some years before 1858?

Praeger and Rommel were not the only men from his groups near Philadelphia who went into the ministry. On March 5, 1864 he wrote a letter to the Provincial Elders' Conference reporting that he had sent one of his young friends from Palmyra to work for the "Agent of the Tract Society" (Br. A. Seip again?) as "colporteur among the Germans in Philadelphia." This man he recommended most heartily to the Provincial Elders' Conference both with respect to his character and his abilities, concluding that all "the brothers and sisters in Palmyra say as if with one voice: 'This one would make a good preacher.' "[122] The name of the young man so honored was Jacob Hoyler.

Of the Moravian congregations which did come out of the Philadelphia work Egg Harbor is not really one, although P. H. Gapp was the first man there. The Provincial Elders' Conference ordered him to visit Egg Harbor and he arrived there first on July 18, 1858, and visited it four times later the same year. This work was then taken over by the Nazareth Home Mission Society and the Reverend G. Israel became its first regular pastor. P. H. Gapp ended his days as an active minister there, serving that church from 1870 to 1888, and turning down a call to Watertown during that time because he felt that he was needed in New Jersey.

The congregations of Palmyra and Riverside, as is well known, were the direct consequence of the Philadelphia mission. Gapp

preached also at Riverton and Westfield, but these people eventually joined either Palmyra or Riverside. The Palmyra work began in September, 1852, and the report for 1853 says: "Last summer the Lord opened a new 'door of utterance' in Riverton N. J. . .There is not a single German church within a circuit of ten miles. . .In this work I was faithfully assisted by one of our German brethren in the city, Br. John Praeger. One of us went to Riverton every second Sunday."[123] In *The Moravian* for 1856 there is an account of a typical visit to the Palmyra and Westfield people "for whom he and his assistant, Bro. John F. Bayer, have been holding regular Sunday services during the summer season."[124] (In the winter there was some trouble about the steamboats.) On this particular day, November 19, 1855, he managed to get a steamboat to Riverton, walked to Palmyra, then went on to Westfield, still on foot, and eventually got back to Riverton and the steamboat to Philadelphia. When, in August, 1856, the first sister ('A Mrs. Hintermeier—S. H. Gapp') was received into the Moravian Church from this Palmyra work, "as there was no congregation in existence I received her into the congregation in Philadelphia."[125] This continued until the Palmyra church was organized; all the earliest Moravians in Palmyra were, in theory at least, members of the congregation at Fourth and Green Streets in Philadelphia. The Riverside work was somewhat later: "As my time was well occupied and divided between Philadelphia and Palmyra I could do nothing but go occasionally. .When I saw that the mission in Philadelphia was gradually going down and the Philadelphia Home Mission Society was talking of giving it up, I thought the time had come to occupy this field. Consequently I commenced on the second Sunday after Easter, 1862, and had in an unfinished hall the first service, and continued every other Sunday."[126] It is worth noting that we come again to the early part of 1862 as the date when the Philadelphia work was being recognized as incapable of producing a self-supporting congregation. Later, when he received the first members in Riverside, on March 20, 1864, he received them "into the church near Palmyra, as there was no congregation here in existence." So there was a continuous linke between

the German Home Mission in Philadelphia and Palmyra, and between Palmyra and Riverside. Two entirely unlooked for congregations had come out of the Philadelphia work, surely enough to justify one of his statements about the failure of the Philadelphia mission: "It may have been providential."

Footnotes

1. Discharge Papers, in possession of S. H. Gapp
2. Mss. History of Home Mission work in Phila., in English, in possession of S. H. Gapp
3. cf. Uttendörfer and Schmidt: *Die Brüder*. Herrnhut, 1922, p. 282
4. Records of Ministers in P. E. C. Office.
5. Account Book of Philadelphia First Church, in the Archives.
6. Report of the H. M. Society of Philadelphia First Church, for 1854.
7. Report of the H. M. Society of Philadelphia First Church, for 1858.
8. *The Moravian*. Feb. 9, 1865, page 22
9. Levering: *History of Moravian Home Mission Work*, pamphlet from an address, later reprinted in *The Moravian* for 1900. Page 11
10. ibid, p. 12
11. ibid, p. 13
12. ibid, p. 13
13. ibid, p. 15
14. Stocker: *Home Mission History*, page 52
15. Fifth Annual Report of Phila. H. M. Society
16. ibid.
17. Records of Ministers, cf. note 4.
18. First Report of Phila. H. M. Society
19. ibid., p. 2
20. *Moravian Miscellany*. I. 1850, page 24
21. First Report, as note 18.
22. *Brüder Botschafter*, 1872. October, November.
23. Mss. History of Phila. Home Mission. Cf. Note 2.
24. Record Book of Philadelphia First Church, in the Archives.
25. Account Book, as note 5.
26. Phila. H. M. Society Report for 1853
27. Warner: *History of Philadelphia First Church*, page 94 (Mor. Hist. Soc.)
28. Mss. History, as note 2.
29. Account Book, as note 5.
30. *Brüder Botschafter*, Oct. 2, 1872, page 159.
31. First Annual Report.
32. Report for 1859.
33. First Report, page 119 as note 31
34. ibid, p. 3
35. ibid., p. 4
36. ibid, p. 5. This is probably the man mentioned by Fett in his account of his journey from Philadelphia. *Moravian Miscellany* 1. 1850, p. 24
37. ibid, p. 9
38. Third Report, page 9
39. ibid. p. 10
40. Fifth Report, p. 12
41. 1858 Report, pages 4, 5
42. First Report, page 9
43. ibid.
44. ibid., pages 6, 7

45. Third Report, p. 11
46. Fourth Report, page 1.
47. Third Report
48. First Report, p. 4
49. *Brüder Botschafter*, October 1872
50. Third Report, p. 12
51. Fourth Report, p. 6
52. Fifth Report, p, 10
53. 1858 Report, p. 4
54. 1859 report, p. 7
55. First Report, p. 6
56. Third Report
57. *Brüder Botschafter*, 1872
58. ibid.
59. Report for 1856, p. 1
60. *Brüder Botschafter*, 1872
61. p. 68
62. Br. Bot., as note 60.
63. Third Report, page 5
64. ibid., p. 12
65. 1854 report, p. 13
66. Tenth Report, p. 4
67. *The Moravian*, Feb. 27, 1862
68. Br. Bot., 1872, as note 60
69. Third Report, p. 4
70. Fourth Report
71. Fifth Report, p. 10
72. Eighth Report, p. 3
73. Third Report, p. 4
74. Fifth Report, p. 3
75. *The Moravian*, 1856, p. 10
76. Fifth Report, p. 4
77. Tenth Report, p. 8
78. ibid.
79. cf. Ritter: *The Moravian Church in Philadelphia.* Philadelphia 1857.
80. Mss. History, as note 2.
81. 1854 report, p. 8
82. Phila. Record Book, as note 24
83. Westcott: *The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia.* Phila. 1877, page 160.
84. ibid., p. 170
85. ibid., p. 170
86. Philadelphia Record Book, as notes 24 and 82
87. 1854 Report, pages 7, 9
88. Phila. Record Book, as note 24, etc.
89. First Report, p. 11
90. Third Report, pages 3, 4
91. ibid, p. 4
92. 1853 report, p. 4
93. Tenth Report, page 3
94. cf. Fourth Report, p. 6, Fifth Report, p. 10, etc.
95. 1852 Report, p. 4
96. Mss. History, as note 2.
97. *The Moravian*, 1856, page 11
98. Br. Bot., 1872, p. 175, as note 22, 30 etc.
99. First Report, p. 11

100. Numbers of participants and dates of communion services in a notebook owned by S. H. Gapp. This also includes first services at Riverside and Palmyra.
101. First Report, p. 11
102. Third Report, p. 6
103. 1853 Report, pages 5, 6
104. Fifth Report, p. 9.
105. List of Contributions, p. 11
106. Constitution in possession of S. H. Gapp
107. Report for 1856, p. 2
108. *The Moravian*, Jan. 1, 1858, p. 3
109. Eighth Report, p. 3
110. ibid, p. 4
111. Ninth Report, p. 6
112. Tenth Report, p. 4
113. Br. Bot., 1872, as note 98, etc.
114. *The Moravian*, Feb. 18, 1864
115. *The Moravian*, Feb. 9, 1865, p. 22
116. Mss. History of Phila. Mission.
116. Mss. History of Phila. Mission.
117. Br. Bot., 1872, as note 98.
118. Fifth Report, p. 9
119. Eighth Report, p. 3
120. Br. Bot., 1872, as above.
121. Mss. History, as note 2, etc.
122. Copy of a letter in possession of S. H. Gapp
123. Fourth Report, p. 5
124. Mss. History of Palmyra Work, in English, in possession of S. H. Gapp.
125. Mss. History of Riverside Work, in English, in possession of S. H. Gapp.

Appendix
German Home Mission Statistics

Year	Communicants	Children	Total Contributions
1850	41		
1853	34		$65
1856	41	36	$148
	includes 8 out of city	70 on S. S. Roll	
1857	44	30	$210.54
1858	40	31	$210.66
	12 lived in Palmyra		
1859	41	33	$256.31
	7 out of city		
	14 in Palmyra		
1860	47	38	$303.35
	9 out of city		
	17 in Palmyra		
1861	46		$341 of this $118 was for Palmyra Church
	21 in Palmyra		
1862	49		
	33 in Palmyra		Palmyra Church
1863	(Phila. not given)		dedicated May 1863
1864	21		$338.31 includes $213.16 from Palmyra

The Relation of the Old and Renewed Moravian Church to the Reformation

by
HEINZ MOTEL

The coming into existence of the Brethren's Unity is not conceivable without the Lord of the Church, "Who calleth those things that be not as though they were". (Romans 4.17) Nor is it conceivable without the men and the occurrences which called her into life. It is indeed not historical to call John Hus the founder of the Church, for that happened at Kunwald in Moravia forty-two years after his martyr dealth. But without this man the Unity could hardly be imagined, nor yet without the Waldenses, to whom the Brethren owe a great debt of gratitude for important guidance on the way toward the existence of the Unity. The Brethren never thought of themselves as *the* Church, neither in the time of the old nor in the time of the renewed Unity. They knew they were only a part of the Church of Christ, in her totality invisible to the human eye, but present in all churches which call upon the Lord Jesus. They were ready to learn from other churches and actually were ever searching for the true church, or at least for the better understanding, the better doctrine, the better order. If a man sought for the unifying elements between the Old and the Renewed Unity, one of them certainly will be this recognition that they were not *the* Church of Christ, nor the first, nor the only one. They deduced the determinative consequences from this fact.

The essence of the old Unity rests upon two propositions: "We have determined once and for all to be guided by the Gospel and the example of the Lord Jesus Christ and the Holy Apostles in meekness, poverty, patience, and the love of enemies." (Bro. Gregor in a letter to the assistant chamberlain of King George). And a later synod resolved; "No particular meeting (of Christians) includes the entire number of the believers. Only the general Christian faith in the truth of the salvation ordained of God constitutes the holy, universal church, outside of which there is no salvation."

It is a characteristic trait in the essence already of the old Unity, what, in our own time, Kurt Plachte has so strongly emphasized in the Zinzendorfian renewed Unity—doctrinal strictness and ecumenical liberality.

When Martin Luther in 1517 appeared in public as a reformer, some contact between himself and the Brethren was inevitable. Strange indeed, if this had not happened. Luther knew of the existence of the Bohemian Brethren quite early, earlier than the Brethren knew of him. In his lectures on the Epistle to the Romans in 1516-1517, he calls the Brethren, whom he gives the contemptuous name of Picards (common at that time), excellent examples of Pharisaic hypocrisy, for they claimed they represented a pure church while, of course, the church consists of a fellowship of saints and sinners. And yet he feels attracted to the Brethren, for their fight for the Bible as the only norm is his fight also. The man whose deepest temptation at first had been to think that he could really be the only one in all Christendom, yes, in all the world, who had grasped the truth of the Gospel, felt himself deeply disturbed, yes greatly agitated and worried by doubts raised by the fact that in not far distant Bohemia an evangelical church, free from Rome, had existed for more than fifty years. He can not yet believe that a church, as it appeared in the Brethren, and only a half century old, could possible be right as against the earlier church with her one and a half millenia of existence.

A sudden change in his views about the Bohemian Brethren begins when, in the Leipzig Disputations with Dr. Eck (1519), the suspicion is raised against Luther that he is a "Bohemian heretic", when Luther appeals to the infallibility of the scriptures as against the fallibility of Pope and ecumenical council. Already the first three main reformation publications of 1520 reflect Luther's new view of the "Bohemians". In the first two of these publications, *To the Christian Nobility*, and *The Babylonish Captivity of the Churches*, he refers to the Bohemians, whose tendencies he does not yet know in detail, in the following words: "It is high time earnestly and in truth to occupy ourselves with the Bohemian matter, to unite them with us and us with them, to put an end to the horrible defamation, hatred, and jealousy on both sides.

Otherwise we will never attain unity. Open truth must make us one".

In his second publication, *The Babylonish Captivity of the Church*, Luther goes still further. Evidently he has meanwhile learned about the Brethren; he rejects the Romish transubstantiation in the Holy Communion with their arguments. He places himself on their side when he can say: The Bohemians are not heretics and schismatics; the Romanists are. In this publication he calls himself a Wicliffite. It is not easy for the Brethren to evaluate the theological and especially the practical meaning of this statement of Luther's. After more than fifty years of her existence under attack and persecution, here for the first time the Unity and her cause received public recognition, and that from Martin Luther, and, while he himself was attacked and fighting, yet he was irresistibly marching forward to the height of his influence and importance.

And now for the personal contacts between Martin Luther and the Brethren, who were magnetically attracted to each other, it could not have been otherwise. Luther's work became known quickly over all Europe and aroused an excited discussion for and against Luther. Passionate argumentation about Luther occurred in Bohemia also. For a time the Brethren adopted a waiting attitude. For what they saw of the consequence of Luther's doctrine among the Utraquists and fanatical spirits did not seem to them very promising. But one of them, John Horn, a later Bishop of the Unity, became a real admirer of the great man from a study of the early writings of Luther. He decided in 1522, together with a companion, probably Michael Weisse, the editor of the first German hymnbook of the Brethren, to make a real pilgrimage to the honored man in Wittenberg.

The first meeting between Luther and a member of the Unity was of a friendly character; nothing else was to be expected at the contact between the young Horn and the Reformer. This visit was purely personal; the administrative leaders of the Unity, especially Luke of Prague, the most important man among them, for the present took no notice of the visit.

In the same year John Horn visited Luther a second time. This time there ensued a discussion of the total teaching of the Brethren. Luther finds fault with various things. He can not justify the rebaptism practised by the Brethren in transfers to the Unity, nor their approval of the seven sacraments; also he does not like it that their priests practice celibacy. Most critical was the doctrine of the Brethren on the relation of faith and works, for they always maintained that good works were not all superfluous for the attainment of salvation. Nevertheless, after taking cognizance of all Moravian doctrine, he rendered the remarkable judgment "Adeo nusquam est in orbe puritas Evangeli- nowhere on earth is there such purity of the Gospel." To be sure, he finds that the Brethren, who were not learned people, were neither Latin scholars nor theologians, do not use "obscure and barabarian phrases". Luther dismisses Horn and his companions with the request to send him an official, instead of only a private, statement of Moravian doctrine.

For the third time, officially sent by the administration of the Unity, the Brethren visit Luther and deliver to him a document of Brother Luke with the title: *On Triumphant Truth.* Luther then replied in detail with his own pamphlet (spring of 1523) *On the Adoration of the Sacrament of the Sacred Body of Jesus.* His answer is friendly, though he clearly states the differences in doctrine between himself and the Brethren. He criticizes the Brethrens' interpretation of the Holy Communion, also their doctrine of justification, which makes too much of the cooperation of men for salvation. Faith surely is "a comforting, loving dependence on the merit of Christ, that man depends heartily on that merit without his own works, he does not need works of his own." It sounds almost like reproach: "Your words still sound as if you lay too much stress on works." Yet he says of the publications of the Brethren that the main items of the Christian faith are properly presented in them. Finally he gives his judgment: "You are very much nearer to the Gospel than all others known to me."

Above all Luther rejoices in the Brethren's doctrine of the church: "The one holy Christian church, that is, the entire

congregation of all men, shares the influence of the Holy Spirit in the preaching of the Gospel of the merit, the passion, and the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The congregation and each member thereof has the power of the keys, to forgive sins and to preach publicly and otherwise." Luther mentions with praise that the Unity chooses its priests out of the congregation and acknowledges that their church discipline is superior to that of the young Evangelical (Protestant) church in Germany.

Finally, Luther expresses a modest wish: The Brethren in the future might be more concerned about the training of their clergy. "If I could accomplish it among you, I would beg that you do not so much despise the languages, would let your preachers and gifted boys always learn good Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. . . .for it is my experience that the languages help very greatly to a pure understanding of the Holy Scripture."

Till the year 1524 two more delegations visited Luther; pamphlets were exchanged, and also letters. After that, as long as Luke of Prague lived, the intercourse with Luther was not continued. Brother Luke wished to protect his independence over against Luther. Later Luther summarized this early period as follows:

> "When I was still a Papist, I hated honestly and with my whole heart those Picard-Brethren, with a great godly and religious zeal. . .but after I had looked about among all those whom the Pope had anathematized and destroyed, I praised them as saints and martyrs. . .Among these were also those Brethren who were called Picards, whom I no longer hated as I did earlier in my Papist time. Among them I finally stumbled on that unique and great wonder, almost unheard of in the papal church, namely, that they, after having given up the doctrine of men, meditate as much as they can, by day and by night, on the law of the Lord and are well-versed in the Holy Scripture, while in the papacy even our M.A.s totally neglected the Scriptures. ."

An actual acceptance of the reformation doctrine by the Brethren did not occur till after the death of Brother Luke, when a young generation of Luther's admirers gained control of the Unity. Prominent among them were the already mentioned Bishop John Horn and Bishop John Augusta. The administration of the Unity was confessedly friendly to Luther. Now Luther's justification doctrine and also his doctrine of the Holy

Communion were commonly held, though no official acceptance of his doctrine was published in the old Unity.

After a ten year pause a new personal contact occurred, when Luther was given the opportunity to write a "Foreword" to a confession of faith of the Brethren- the "Apology of 1533". In it, he declares with joy that the Brethren have given a new value to the communion and to baptism, but finds among them "always interspersed something about works, supposed to help the faith." But he praises their holding closely to the Bible and their determined rejection of Romish false teaching. Here Luther adds something entirely new: he would like complete agreement in faith and doctrine with the Brethren (and beyond that as a final aim a complete church fellowship). He writes:

> "Because I would like to see all the world unanimous in the faith of Christ, they with us and we with them, I have permitted this booklet of the above-named Brethren to be published in Bohemia, that all pious Christians might read and see how far or how near we are apart or near each other. Even though the doctrine of the Brethren is to be preferred to that of the Pope and all his people we on our part have a clearer and more certain manner of speaking of grace and the forgiveness of sins, because we so purely and correctly separate works from faith. However, the Brethren diligently used the Bible and banished the abomination of the Papists," and if this booklet is not sufficient for some one, it nevertheless fair to let them be the 'bruised reed and smoking flax' (Isa. 42.3) for we ourselves also are not entirely perfect."

At a later visit of the Brethren Luther said: "You have a good constitutional order; do not give it up. For many reasons I had to destroy. I could not do otherwise. But I would like to introduce a good order, for I do not wish to destroy the church, but to build it up. Your Brethren must by no means give up their church order. Tell them that." Melanchthon spoke words of praise for the Brethren's Church Order. They knew that they were one in the essentials of faith and doctrine and could freely come to the understanding that identity in church order was not necessary.

A little later the Brethren sought a still closer connection with Luther. Persecuted in their own country and perplexed, they seek a union with the evangelical church in German countries. In a letter of the Elders of the Brethren in 1536 addressed to the

Reformer, they write: "We desire to be one with you in faith and love and with other Christians. For that purpose we exert every effort, striving for its attainment, even though Satan throws every obstacle in the way and opposes us with all his might." A delegation of the Brethren delivers this letter to Luther with the Brethren's Confession of 1535. They pray him to write an introduction to this confession and to see to its publication. They even give him liberty to make changes. What they hope to gain from the publication of this confession by the famous reformer is an honored position for the Unity in the world. This visit of the Brethren to Luther passed in a very fraternal atmosphere. The delegates, as in 1535, were John Augusta and George Israel. The The Brethren, in addition to the confession, gave Luther as a sign of friendship twelve knives made in Bohemia, and were again received by Luther in a very friendly manner and were invited to a meal. Invited to a second visit at a specified hour nine days later, they found themselves, to their amazement, before an illustrious round table of important men of the Reformation—Justus Jonas, John Bugenhagen, Philipp Melanchthon, Caspar Cruziger, and a bishop from Scandinavia unknown to the Brethren. Each of them had before him on the table notes on points of Moravian doctrine which the Brethren had not sufficiently clarified to them. The conversation was very harmonious and the following days gave opportunities for further discussion. They approved all the Brethrens' points of doctrine, except their demand for a celibate clergy, the reason for which Luther could not understand. To be sure, no progress was made in that point for which the Brethren this time had come—a union. The conversation on this subject remained on the fringe of regular discussions. The impossibility of union probably grew out of the too great differences of organization, church discipline, and not least, of language. On taking leave of them, Luther said to the Brethren: "It must remain as follows: You be the apostles to the Bohemians and we to the Germans. You serve there as opportunities are offered, and we also as we have opportunities here." In a farewell letter Luther wrote: "So far as we are concerned, we wish very much this one thing, that between us an

honest agreement will emerge; we pray God no less than you, that this might proceed happily among both parties." In a letter made necessary by the negotiations about the publication in Wittenberg, the Brethren wrote: "We now greatly rejoice that we as associates in the same Gospel have not only recognized each other but are also united by mutual love", and further, "We honestly wish that our pious association and fellowship in Christ and His Gospel may become generally known, and a comfort to many, and, if it please God, serve others as a model."

In the foreword to the Confession Luther once more summarizes his attitude towards the Brethren. He praises them and thanks God that between the Unity and himself an original mutual suspicion has disappeared, "so that now we have been brought close together and at the same time were led back into one flock under that one Shephred and Bishop of our souls; may He be praised in eternity." A difference in customs, regulations, and ceremonies means nothing. What alone is essential is the purity of faith. Luther recommends for reading "to all the pious in the Lord"—the Brethren's Confession of faith.

In his last letter to Bishop Augusta Luther wrote on October 5, 1542. "I admonish you that you persevere with us to the end in the fellowship of the Holy Spirit and doctrine as you began. And also fight with us by the same word and prayer against the gates of hell, which unceasingly attacks the true church of God and the Lord and her head-Christ". "May He himself strengthen, protect, keep, and perfect us with you into His image and to the praise of His grace."

"The Brethren on their part never fully bound themselves to Luther. Already in the forties, still in Luther's lifetime, they recovered a new sense of what the Unity had accomplished through a hundred years of her existence. The church order or discipline of the old Brethren again was honored, also the writings of Brother Luke, who had never made himself fully dependent on Luther.

What now, have they learned from Luther? Rich in explanation on that subject is the Brethren's Confession of 1535 which since the existence of the old Unity remained the authoritative confession of the Brethren. We quote several sentences:

"The Lord Christ is by His merit, His grace and truth, head and foundation of the church upon whom she herself will be built through the Holy Ghost with the Word and Sacrament." "Wherever Christ is preached and accepted, where the Word and the Sacraments are administered and accepted according to His command and will, there is the Holy Church". "There is therefore also a Christian church in all factions and sects. The nearer they are to the Word of God, so much the nearer are they to the holy Church."

To be sure, for the Brethren an essential of the Church is a church order and church discipline. In this matter she has never changed. In this recognition they always felt they excelled Luther and his people. They always were aware of the fact that they were a fellowship church (GemeindeKirche). It is essential to state that under the influence of the Reformation the Brethren no longer attempted by means of church discipline to build a pure church of saints only. The fellowship is for them also a fellowship of sinners. They often say: "Hypocrites and not pious people always were in the Church and will continue to be till the last days, who cannot be recognized nor lightly excluded. Not till the last day will the tares and the wheat be separated." With respect to the two sacraments the Brethren now teach that they are essential to salvation, but that they possess validity even if they are dispensed by unworthy priests. Of course for them the matter of first importance is the proclamation of the Word, even before the Sacrament.

What the Brethren have learned from the Reformation shines most brightly in their hymns, as we now sing them in our day. In our present hymn book we took too small notice of them; in the new hymnbook of the Evangelical (Protestant) Church a larger number appear, It is said that they will get into much greater vogue in the new Brethren's hymnal than formerly. In this form, fructified and enriched by Luther's writings, the spiritual heritage of the ancient Unity exerts up to the present its influence on the evangelical church.

To explain the relation of the renewed Unity to the Reformation it is necessary to speak of Zinzendorf, the renewer of the old

Unity. Zinzendorf understood the reformer better and more deeply than the old Brethren; one may safely say this after all that research about Zinzendorf has brought to light. But his relation to Luther from the very beginning comes out of an entirely different previous history. At an earlier time there was a pre-Reformation church of lay people with a modest knowledge of the Bible, who were not the equal of the Wittenberg theologian. They never got to the point of completely understanding the perhaps short and preliminary but decisive viewpoints in the theology of Luther, the premises of which were not clear to them because they could not understand them.

Between Luther and Zinzendorf, on the other hand, lie two centuries during which the Lutheran Church became a great institution—Zinzendorf became a great man in the Lutheran Church. But those centuries are also full of a theological and a historical religious development, which colored the picture of Luther and his central point of doctrine, to the extent of incrusting it, so that the approach to him, to the real Luther and his theology of the cross, was by no means easy. Zinzendorf was not an orthodox Lutheran and not a Lutheran confessionalist. Because he was neither, yet claimed Luther as his authority, whom he understood as few of his contemporaries did—is the reason why Zinzendorf had so hard a time of it. He was not a Lutheran, but a Luther *pupil*, through and through. He made an essential impression on the renewed Brethren's Church by his understanding of Luther. One can speak of intensive relations with Luther in the old Unity, but of Zinzendorf one can only speak of his resting on a correct understanding of Luther.

Once Zinzendorf expressed it plainly, unequivocally: "I hold the fundamental principles of Luther. Luther has no greater devotee than I, far or near; his writings, his hymns, his godly style of writing, his smaller catechism, the expression in many writings are my daily admiration and joy." And again: "I consider the Lutheran system to be the completest system of doctrine, among all I ever saw." Yes, once he even designated himself as "Lutherus vere redivivus"—Luther truly revived. But in close connection with this he says he has no time at all for

Lutheran confessionalism in which Luther places beside each other confessional phrases and central and peripheral Scripture truths. Luther is his great master and teacher but only in so far as he brought the Holy Bible back to a place of honor and taught us to explain it from the point of view of the central plan of salvation of Christ made flesh, crucified and risen from the dead, by which he directs us beyond the sacred page to the divine revelation itself.

In the following several suggestions Zinzendorf knows, like Luther, of only one revelation-the biblical. And this one revelation of God speaks only of One, of Jesus Christ. He appears "on every page". Only in Jesus Christ does that revelation disclose itself to the understanding. One must have it from one point of view, consider it from a point of view, and that again is Christ. Then one discovers also that Christ is "on every page" of the Bible. Both Testaments deal with Christ, in whom the justifying grace of God meets us. Zinzendorf's entire theology is in the retinue of Luther's theology of the cross. The Bible also comes in the form of a servant. Like Luther, he can speak of the Bible as being poor as a literary document, full of errors and inadequacies, but for the sole purpose of letting the excellence of the Crucified One shine much more gloriously. To have learned to know Him from the Bible means the possession of the most central knowledge.

This applies also to the preaching of the Gospel. Here also the starting point remains the cross. In this sense he can say: "We consider the cross the chief matter, for the all in all, for the great masterpiece of all divine and human things." As there can be no knowledge of God except in the cross of Christ, so there is no knowledge of man except under the cross. Only there he becomes aware of his sin, his lost state, the evidence of which is pride and unbelief. But in Christ everything has been accomplished which man owes to God. The merit of Christ, of which Zinzendorf speaks so often is in so far a total merit as Christ has wholly put Himself in the place of man. The Savior is the penitence and conversion of man. He justifies him. He sanctifies him, He has faith for him; in short, Christ has done everything for man. "All

welfare (Heil) and salvation is with Him and can be had in an hour."

With this conscious transference of all the acts of salvation to an objective revelation (i.e. Jesus), Zinzendorf deliberately separates himself, with Luther, from the Pietism of his time. Man becomes holy only in Christ; he can never become holy by his own effort. Nobody is holier than a sinner whom grace has saved. The cross of Christ becomes the decisive center of the Bible, of faith, of the Church, yes, of all confessional churches. Zinzendorf once summarized his preaching in the form of a program in this device (after this manner): The enthronement of the Lamb of God as the actual creator, preserver, redeemer and savior of the whole world, and the catholicity of the doctrine of His passion as a universal theology both in theory and in practice. The triad of the Reformation—sola fide, sola gratia, sola scriptura.

Zinzendorf's doctrine of the church, like Luther's, is based on the cross. "The Savior created the Church on His Cross." The Church as the fellowship of the saints has her single and only root in the atonement accomplished on the cross." "If in all times there has been a holy Christianity it must in all times have held to the doctrine of the passion. There must have been, at all times, a company of people based on the passion, the martyrdom of Jesus Christ". The Crucified Christ is the all-constituting principle of the Church. It is true, there is such a church on earth, but in the realm of the cross-and that is a Lutheran idea. And what that means is that the Kingdom of Jesus in this world is a despised Kingdom and His people a small group. For that reason the church is always a church of sinners. Their holiness is a sinner holiness. She (the church) is hidden from the world. But this church is to become visible again and again, and that is one of the aims of Zinzendorf: "The invisible church can become visible to the world through associated members." "She becomes visible where two or three are gathered in the name of Jesus, where the word is proclaimed and heard and the Sacraments are properly administered." "Without baptism there is no visible church of Jesus."

Zinzendorf, for various reasons, thought but little of formulated confessions (creeds), but by way of exception had a high opinion of the Augsburg Confession. On his initiative the Synod of the Brethrens' Church at Grosskrausche in 1748 adopted this definitive creed of the Lutheran Church. In order to accomplish this, he delivered twenty-one discourses on the Augsburg Confession, in which he praises this confession in noble words as the "Dessein (purpose, aim) of the Philadelphian doctrinal system." Zinzendorf applied the consequences of this to his own personal attitude. He belongs to the Lutheran Church. To prove it he submits to an examination of his orthodoxy by the consistory of Stralsund and after its approval accepts a call to the Herrnhut pastorate as a legitimate candidate for the Lutheran clergy.

Zinzendorf's passionate fellowship ideas also come from Luther. He says: "My heart is entirely directed toward fellowship, but in holy order." Plachte's judgment is probably not correct when he says that Zinzendorf's fellowship ideas were Lutheran in matter but pietistic in form. Certainly Zinzendorf got the plans for his fellowship institutions from the Pietism of his time, above all from Spener. But it is important that in this connection he also refers to Luther and speaks of himself as a kind of administrator of Luther's will. In this connection he always appeals to the so called "Lutheran Project", in the introduction to the German Mass (1526) where Luther speaks to a group of earnest Christians as a kind of confessional fellowship within the Church. "All those who want to be Christians in earnest and confess the Gospel with hand and mouth would have to sign their names and meet probably in a house, for prayer, for reading, for baptism, to receive the sacrament and to practice other Christian work." But he did not have the personnel for that. "I can not now, nor wish yet to arrange for such a meeting, for I do not have the persons for that. But if the time comes that I must do it and will be urged to do it, I will do what I can and help as much as I am able." He thinks it must happen, that those Christians who take the Word seriously will find themselves and will persevere.

As is known, this remained merely a project. This is where Zinzendorf takes his place. He says of the Moravian exiles who had settled on his estate: "Here were the people, as Luther de-

scribed them. . .I would not have been a friend of Luther if I had permitted this opportunity to pass out of my hands." In other words: In the founding of Herrnhut, which at first was to be only an *ecclesiola in ecclesia*, a little church in the great Lutheran Church, Zinzendorf knows himself a follower of Luther. He carries out a plan Luther had not carried out, in so far as a living fellcwship comes into existence, not different from the pietistic striving for sanctification but a fellowship of sinners which arises as a fellcwship of sinners on the foundation of justification and atonement. Not only is Zinzendorf's message Lutheran in origin; he consciously is also on Luther's trail in his method of organizing fellowships. What now in Herrnhut and other places has taken practical form in living fellowships (churches) with their many officers, the division into "choirs", in short, in which arrangements of the most various kinds are introduced—all these find their justification in the same source. In this matter Zinzendorf was capable not of improving upon Luther, but surely of continuing to work along his lines.

Enough of these examples. Some dared to say the Brethren's Church became a free church of overwhelemingly Lutheran vinttage. As a matter of fact, the Brethrens' Church today yet holds to the Augustana. Yet it would be shortsighted to trace Zinzendorf and the Brethrens' Church back to Luther exclusively or even largely to a dependence on him. Wherever he found central evangelical truths, also in other confessions, he warmly recognizes them. For instance: with what noble words he recognized the Berne Synod expression as an important confession of the Swiss Reformed Church! Here he found clearly stated what he sought in vain in other confessions, viz., the statement that the recognition of sin comes from the Cross of Christ and not from the Law. How he struggled with his "Tropen-Idee" and its complete introduction in the Brethrens' Church, so that Lutheran and Reformed viewpoints could live together in peace! But for this reason he was concerned about the source of the Gospel, about Jesus Christ the Crucified. Though he was a disciple of Luther, he never allowed himself to be tied down to Luther. In this respect he perhaps has been one of the best of Luther's pupils, who never wanted a church that called itself by his name. He wanted

to be a guidepost who points away from himself and to the Crucified and Resurrected One. Zinzendorf had no other desire. Especially in this last desire Luther and Zinzendorf agree.

Now we close. We have seen that the old and the new Unities are under great obligation to Luther. For the old Unity he was a theological adviser and protector, who helped the Unity to understand itself better and to clarify its doctrine. He was more to the Renewed Church. Without Luther you could not imagine the Renewed Church; without Luther, Zinzendorf could neither be imagined nor understood. In past months the Brethrens' Church has again and again posed the question whether continuity between the Old and the Renewed Unity could be spoken of. Unquestionably, such a continuity exists in several respects, especially by the transfer of the episcopacy from the Old to the New and therefore of the spiritual office generally. It exists in the fact that the origin of the Renewed Unity traces back to descendants of the Old- the Moravians. Also in the fact that in both Unities we are dealing with fellowship churches which today largely resemble each other in their structure (Aufbau) and the principles of that structure.

Within the scope of this paper I may be permitted to draw attention to this fact; a uniting element between the Old and the New Brethrens' Unity is the Gospel, as Luther "placed it on a candle". The descendants of the Old Unity brought to Herrnhut as a precious possession their hymnbook of 1566 which very plainly shows in its hymns the influence of the Reformation, and when they came to Herrnhut, they found in Zinzendorf a man who met them with a glorious message transmitted by the Lutheran Church. It is to Luther's credit, which continued to be effective for centuries, that they turned away from a legalistic Pietism, about which they were contending with each other in the 1730s, and anew placed themselves on the foundation of free grace in Christ and sang together:

> We, together with the entire fellowship of the Cross,
> Will eternally be witnesses
> That in the sacrifice of Christ alone can be found
> Grace and freedom from all sin
> For all the world.